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ABSTRACT

This publication reviews the recent literature on female achievement orientation. It discusses theories of achievement motivation and includes a brief statement on sex-role stereotypes. It also gives specific attention to the ways in which sex-role ideologies and expectations affect female achievement, and examines antecedents of female achievement orientation. In addition it directs attention to recent developments in research, including the motive to avoid success, value orientations, and ability. The paper concludes with a presentation of the future directions for female achievement orientation research. (Author/PFS)

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# ACHIEVEMENT ORIENTATION IN FEMALES: A SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

by

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# SECTION I

## Introduction and Background

## on

## Female Achievement Orientation

## INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to review the literature on achievement orientation in females. Specifically, attention will be focused on identifying ways in which sex-role ideologies and expectations affect female achievement. Although some background materials have been included, the paper is limited for the most part to a review of the literature which has appeared since the Stein and Bailey review in 1973. An attempt is made to identify emerging theories in the literature which may provide direction for future research.

Prior to the review of recent research, a review of theories of achievement motivation is presented followed by a brief statement on sex-role stereotypes. The literature review is divided into three areas: the first deals with the effects of sex roles on female achievement orientation; the second describes some of the essential antecedents of female achievement orientation; and the third reviews recent theoretical developments in female achievement orientation research. The final part of the paper summarizes, synthesizes, and suggests some directions for future research in the area of female achievement orientation.

Although no specific theoretical perspective is applied consistently throughout the paper, the more traditional, mechanistic models are generally ignored in favor of the more cognitive perspectives of social psychology.

## THEORIES OF ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION

The classic work on achievement motivation was done by McClelland et.al. (1953), who conceptualized achievement motivation as a relatively stable personality disposition to strive for success in any situation where standards of success apply. Achievement motivation was measured projectively through a scoring of achievement themes told in response to T.A.T. pictures. This conceptualization has received fairly good support for males, but not for females. The projective measures of achievement motivation are not correlated with achievement effort or with academic and intellectual performance for females (Entwisle, 1972). Most evidence indicates that women, unlike men, do not respond to experimental arousal conditions in which intelligence and leadership are stressed (French and Lesser, 1964; Alper and Greenberger, 1967). Attempts to explain these findings for females have resulted in misgivings about the validity of achievement motivation as a theoretical construct, as well as some theoretical reformulations. Entiwisle (1972) has recently questioned the validity of measures of achievement motivation, suggesting that fantasy-based measures of achievement motivation have psychometric failings which may account for the general weakness of the conception.

In a more recent conceptualization of achievement motivation, Crandall, et.al. (1960) postulates that achievement motivation is not a general motive, but is specific to certain areas of achievement. Motivation in a given situation is determined by: (1) attainment values, the importance an individual attaches to competence in a given area; (2) expectancy of success; and (3) individual standards of performance.

In Atkinson's formulation of achievement motivation (Atkinson, 1966), two motives were proposed: (1) the motive to approach success and (2) the motive to avoid failure. Additionally, the Atkinson Model introduced cognitive elements of expectancy, suggesting that the individual's expectation of success and the incentive value for success or failure, strongly influence motivation, as it is expressed in level of aspiration, preference for risk taking and willingness to persist in an activity.

The Achievement Syndrome as formulated by Rosen (1956), consists of a cultural component as well as the psychological component of achievement motivation. This cultural component, consisting of achievement value orientations and aspiration, is defined as "symbolic conceptions that organize and guide conduct and establish criteria which influence preferences and goals" (Rosen, 1956). Rosen identified three sets of value orientations as elements of the Achievement Syndrome: activistic-passivistic, present-future, and familistic-individualistic. According to Rosen, achievement motivation is not enough to produce achievement behavior; there must be other factors such as achievement values which provide a definition of goals, which focus the individual's attention on achievement and prepare him to translate motive into action (Rosen, 1956). While the achievement motive may provide the impetus to excel, it does not delineate the areas in which such excellence should take place. Rosen indicates that the achievement motive can be expressed through non-vocational behaviors as well as deviant and low-status occupations.

Veroff, et.al. (Mednick, et.al., 1975) indicate that the early work in achievement motivation and efforts to measure achievement motivation

through projective assessment has resulted in a unitary conceptualization of achievement motivation. They point out that relatively few studies have been undertaken that attempt to identify the many varieties of achievement motivation. Additionally most studies including those few that treat achievement motivation and achievement situations as multidimensional have been undertaken in a college environment, seriously limiting generalizations to the heterogeneous population. Veroff and his associates (Mednick, et.al., 1975), based on research with 365 urban adults nearly evenly divided between male and female and black and white subjects, investigated the following varieties of achievement motivation:

Factor 1: Assertive competence motivation. As an achievement orientation this is seen as "desiring to see oneself as successfully performing valued achievement in the society" (Mednick, et.al., 1975). In this case the motivation depends upon being socially evaluated and reacted to. It is not merely a matter of improving one's own performance or mastering specific tasks.

Factor 2: Task competence motivation. This is viewed as a motivation to achieve the demands of a task. Here the individual tends to choose a task he can realistically master, but when given a task, he will try his hardest to handle the tasks.

Factor 3: Fear of failure. The subject is seen to actively seek situations which would minimize the chances for failure.

Factor 4: Social comparison motivation. Here subjects demonstrate that it is important to compare oneself with others. Veroff points out the theoretical importance of this factor in that social comparison stands

alone as a motivational factor. This contrasts with the previously held view that competition is such an important dimension of all achievement strivings.

Factor 5: Future achievement orientation. In this case subjects whose projective assessment imagery is future oriented may also score high on achievement imagery.

Factor 6: Hope of success. This final factor is very similar to what the literature of achievement motivation has called the achievement motive or motive to approach success. It should be noted that this factor has had considerable value in research on achievement motivation in white middle-class male college student populations. Whether or not the same value will be demonstrated in more general, heterogeneous populations remains to be seen.

## SEX ROLE STEREOTYPES

Implicit in the study of female achievement orientation is a comparison to the achievement orientation of males. This comparison raises questions regarding how males and females are alike and, more importantly, how they are different. Although it is generally assumed that such differences are the result of social and cultural conditions, some actual biological differences do exist that may affect male and female behavioral differences. These differences that range from genetic endowment, to chemical factors of the prenatal environment, to hormones in the mature adult, must be considered in the analysis of sex role orientations. It is conceded, however, (McCoy, 1977) that "even if biologically based differences in behavioral predispositions exist, social factors such as the sex which the child is assigned and in which the child is reared can substantially override and obscure them" (McCoy, 1977: 166).

Psychological theories of sex differences tend to group into three positions (Goodstein and Sargent, 1977). The psychoanalytically oriented theories (e.g. Freud) are deeply grounded in biological bases for different gender identity. However, the environment plays a major role in the acquisition of sex role behavior through identification with same sex parents and other adults, and in the various ways male and female children are influenced by others as they progress through the psychosexual stages of development.

The cognitively oriented theories (e.g. Kohlberg) tend to pay little attention to biology. They emphasize that through cognitive development, self categorizations of gender become the fundamental organizers of sex

role. Kohlberg is cited by Goodstein and Sargent as indicating that recent research states:

> Children develop a conception of themselves as having an unchangeable sexual identity at the same age and through the same processes that they develop conceptions of the invariable identity of physical objects. The child's sexual identity is maintained by a motivated adaptation to physical-social reality and by the need to preserve a stable and positive self image (Goodstein and Sargent, 1977: 174).

Social learning theories (e.g. Mischel and Bandura and Walters) hold that sex typing commences at birth when children imitate the rewarding and nurturant role models, usually the parents. Some of the child's behaviors are rewarded and therefore encouraged, others are ignored or punished and therefore discouraged. Through this process of reward and punishment constellations of behaviors, inclusive of sex role behavior, develop in the child.

Since all major theoretical positions regarding sex differences concede that social and cultural factors are major contributors to the development of sex role behavior, changes in societal definitions of sex roles are to be expected.

There exists a wide-spread notion that sex-role definitions are undergoing significant changes. Those changes, it would appear, are inclusive of the concepts of androgyny. Indeed, there exists some evidence to support this notion of change. Engelhard, Jones and Stiggins (1976) cite evidence that counselors' attitudes regarding women have changed over a six year span (1968-1974) to include more acceptance of women in the dual roles of both mother and worker. Although they found differences between male and female counselors, they did discover that unnecessarily restrictive (traditional) sex role definitions are no longer considered appropriate

by either male or female guidance counselors.

Despite the apparent fluidity of sex-role definitions in contemporary society, as contrasted with previous decades, much recent research confirms the existence of pervasive and persistent sex role stereotypes. Broverman et.al. (1972) found a strong consensus about the differing characteristics of men and women that exists across groups differing in sex, age, religion, marital status and educational levels. The male-valued items reflect a competency cluster, including such attributes as being independent, objective, active, competitive, logical, skilled in business, worldly, adventurous, able to make decisions easily, self confident, always acting as a leader, and ambitious. A relative absence of these traits characterizes the stereotypic perception of women. The female valued stereotypic items on the other hand, consisted of attributes such as gentle, sensitive to the feelings of others, religious, neat, quiet, interested in art and literature, able to express tender feelings. Men are stereotypically perceived as lacking in these characteristics.

Various studies have shown that very young children develop a sex role identity with well defined notions of appropriate behavior for men and women. Stein and Smithells (1969) found high agreement among second to twelfth grade children concerning sex-role standards about areas of achievement: artistic, social, and reading skills were viewed as most feminine (and least masculine), while athletic, spatial and mechanical skills were considered most masculine (and least feminine). Also, sex-role standards become more definite with age.

There are a variety of ways in which sex role stereotypes are trans-

mitted in the society. Many of these ways are obvious involving socialization, child rearing practices and education. Some are more subtle, such as language. Edelsky (1976) found that female and male sex-linked lexical forms evoke associations of male and female stereotypic traits. She concludes that if language is produced by males and females in accord with people's attitudes about sex appropriateness of word usage, then the two sexes as speakers, through gender based linguistics, may elicit from their listeners perceptions that perpetuate socially defined masculine/feminine roles. It may be, then, that gender-based language is a way in which stereotypes and masculine-feminine positons are maintained in the social order.

An increasingly popular theme appearing in the literature on sex roles is the suggestion that, inasmuch as masculine characteristics are more socially desirable than are female characteristics, this inevitably results in women having negative self images, poor ego strength, and various forms of mental illness; their lack of achievement is thus explained. (See, for example, Rosenkrantz, et.al., 1968; Broverman, et.al., 1970; Gump, 1972).

Deutsch and Gilbert (1976) indicate that masculinity is the norm for cultural socialization and that masculine characteristics are the clinical standard for adult mental health. Their research with college women and men examining the hypothesis that good adjustment and androgyny would be related, was supported for females but not for males. Their data showed that the females that described themselves as masculine were well adjusted and that the males that described themselves as feminine were poorly adjusted. They conclude at least for the college sample that

masculinity may be healthy for both sexes in our society and that feminity may be unhealthy.

In an examination of how dimensions of sex-role stereotyping and self-concept relate to differences in assertiveness, Tolor, Kelly and Stebbins (1976) found indications that "rejection of stereotypic sex-role patterns on the part of women is associated with greater assertiveness and more positive self concepts than is rejection of stereotypic sex-roles on the part of men." They suggest that the reason women who reject traditional sex-roles are more assertive and hold themselves in higher esteem than corresponding men who reject traditionally masculine sex-roles is that societal pressures make it far more difficult for women than for men to abandon the characteristics stereotypically attributed to them.

An inherent weakness in many of these studies is that the majority of measures on which these results are based represent a singular, polar dimension of masculinity-femininity. Also the question of the extent to which sex-role stereotypes influence the self-conceptions of women has not yet been adequately answered by existing research. Osmond and Martin (1975) discuss this problem and suggest a conceptualization of a sex-role continuum that involves lesser and greater degrees of sex differentiation and typing. They attempt to deal with the social roles of both sexes, not only of females, and find delineations of the two ends of the continuum proposed by Hefner, et.al. (1974) most useful. They define "traditional" sex roles as those based on polar, masculinity-femininty conceptions; and "modern" sex roles as "flexible and dynamic transcendence of sex-role constraints; that is, 'modern' definitions of social roles are not specified by 'sex'." This conceptualization holds that for a person who holds

modern attitudes, sex would not be a required characteristic for occupying a social position or performing a social role. Future research must necessarily focus on refinements in conceptualization and operationalization of sex roles and sex role attitudes.

## SECTION II

# Effects of Sex Roles
# on
# Female Achievement Orientation

## ATTAINMENT VALUES AND PERFORMANCE

It appears that female achievement orientations are most likely to be manifested in areas which represent culturally defined sex appropriate activities, especially social skills. French and Lesser (1964) report that arousal conditions stressing social skills rather than intellectual abilities and leadership result in increased achievement imagery in women. Generally, the research indicates that females hold higher attainment values and correspondingly higher standards of performance in areas perceived as appropriate female achievement areas.

Stein (1971), for example, reports that sixth to ninth grade female subjects set higher attainment values and standards of performance in female appropriate tasks. Furthermore, the attainment values of ninth grade girls were more influenced by sex-typing than were those of sixth grade girls. It has also been reported that expectations and standards of lower socio-economic status subjects are more strongly influenced by sex-typing than are those of middle and higher socio-economic status subjects. Additionally, a number of findings reviewed by Stein and Bailey (1973) indicate that the sex-appropriateness of a task can also affect performance and competence in that area.

All of these findings support the assumption that sex-role appropriateness and sex-role standards do indeed affect female achievement orientations. However, differences in females in the degree to which they are affected by sex-role definitions indicate the importance of controlling for factors such as age, socio-economic status, and sex-role identification.

One such study that controlled for individual variations in perception of one's own sex role identification (Doherty and Culver, 1976) found that female high school students that viewed themselves as non-traditional, personal-fulfillment oriented, held higher educational aspirations than did the female students oriented to more traditional sex-role identification. Doherty and Culver (1976) indicate that the need exists for further research that not only controls for sex role perceptions, ability and achievement; but also accounts for attitudes of parents, peers, teachers and others that influence high ability female students. They conclude that:

> High ability, independent, personal fulfillment oriented high school girls apparently are still not provided with the inducements or opportunities and options or encouragement which may allow them to achieve maximally both in an academic sense and possibly later in the marketplace (Doherty and Culver, 1976: 3).

## EXPECTANCY OF SUCCESS

The expectancies of achievement related successes differ for males and females; generally, females are less optimistic about their future performances than are males, often in spite of superior previous performances. A study by Crandall (reported in Crandall, et. al, 1970) indicates that college females had lower expectancies of success than males, despite the fact that the females' grades were slightly higher.

Stein and Bailey (1973) suggest one reason for lower expectations of females may be the generalized sex-role stereotype in the culture, that is that females are less competent than males. They report a study by Pheterson, et. al. (1971) in which students rated paintings by men to be significantly better than identical paintings by women. When the paintings were presented as winners in a contest, however, the differences in evaluations disappeared.

Kidd and Woodman (1975) report the results of a study on sex differences in orientations toward winning in sports. Their general conclusion is that female subjects did express a lower orientation toward winning in sports (defined as including athletic and recreational leisure activities made up of individual, dual, and team memberships) than did their male counterparts. In concluding that sex-linked differences did occur in the expressed desire to win at sports, it is important to bear in mind that their study focused, not on which persons win or lose, but rather on the attitudinal predisposition toward winning.

A study by Deaux and Enswiller (1973) questions whether or not the general cultural sex-role stereotype of female incompetence fully explains

lowered female expectancy of success. Their study had male and female undergraduate students evaluate the performance of both males and females on masculine and feminine tasks. No difference in evaluation of performance was found. However, the subjects attributed different causes in explaining that performance. Performance by a male on a masculine task was attributed to skill, whereas an equivalent performance by a female on the same task was seen to be more influenced by luck. They concluded that men were perceived as more skillful than women, independent of task.

In a similar study, Feather and Simon (1975) obtained responses of Australian high school girls on a Semantic Differential Scale to male and female stimulus figures who succeed or fail in each of three occupational areas: nursing (feminine), teaching (mixed), and medicine (masculine). Their findings showed that males were evaluated more positively when they succeeded than failed, regardless of the occupation; whereas females were evaluated more positively if they failed. Successful males were judged more positively than successful females, while unsuccessful males were perceived less positively than unsuccessful females. Subjects saw ability as a more important cause of male success, whereas lack of ability was viewed as an important cause of female failure.

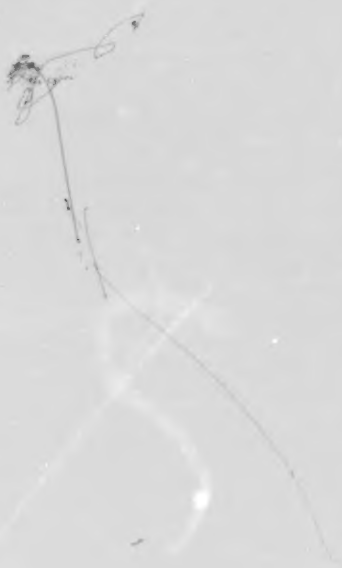
Meeker and Weitzel-O'Neill (1977) report that the previously held assumption that males are "task" or "instrumental" specialists while females are "social" or "expressive" specialists and, therefore, that male and female approaches to tasks represent these orientations has failed to obtain either theoretical or empirical support. They concede

that researchers continue to find sex differences in behavior in various task oriented situations. Their conclusion is that sex roles may be seen more as the result of status processes. In their review of current literature they summarize empirical studies of sex roles as related to a variety of task oriented behavior that supports the assumption that since men have nigher status than women, it is expected that men will be more competent than women, and it is held that competitive and dominating behavior is appropriate for men but not for women.

Developmental changes of expectancy were shown to occur for higher socio-economic status girls, but not boys in a study by Stein (1971). Higher socio-economic status ninth grade girls had lower expectancies than their sixth grade counterparts, a pattern similar to that of lower socio-economic status boys. However, an increase in expectancy from sixth to ninth grade characterized higher socio-economic status boys.

Although evidence does exist to support the notion that females' stated expectancies of success reflect sex-role stereotypes in the culture, this may be only part of the complete explanation. However, since there are few consistent relationships reported (especially longitudinal) between expectancies and performance, it is impossible to conclude definitively that the lower expectancies of females are anything more than reflections of sex-role standards. The absence of a correlation for girls between expectancy statements and intellectual ability (which was highly significant for boys), may reflect the possibility that girls and boys may be differentially rewarded for stating achievement expectations (Crandall, et. al., 1970). Whereas boys may be rewarded for

stating expectations that are accurate, girls may be criticized for "unfeminine boasting," when stating high (albeit realistic) expectations.



## LEVEL OF ASPIRATION

According to Stein and Bailey (1973), there is an important distinction between expectancy and aspiration, although the two terms are frequently used interchangeably in the literature. Expectancy measures what the individual believes she will be able to do, while aspiration measures the level of difficulty the individual chooses to attempt. Well established in the literature on achievement motivation in males is the finding that high achievement motivation tends to be associated with more realistic and appropriate aspiration levels in risk-taking situations (Atkinson and Litwin, 1960; Mc Clelland, 1958). Touhey and Villemez (1975) report in their study of need achievement and risk taking preferences that for their subjects (fifty-three male and forty-two female college students) they obtained no significant differences in achievement motivation, ability or risk preference between males and females.

A study by Roberts (1975) confirmed the theory that achievement motivated subjects prefer intermediate risk levels, and, furthermore, the findings held for both male and female subjects. However, of particular interest in the study was the conclusion that women tended to be more cautious in the risk taking preferences than men supporting the cultural stereotype that women have a stronger drive toward conservative risk choices than men.

While it appears that as many females set adaptive (moderate) levels of aspiration for themselves as do males, the sexes do differ in the direction taken by those who set less adaptive goals. Girls tend to err in the direction of overcautiousness by choosing easy tasks;

boys err in the direction of undercautiousness by choosing difficult tasks (Stein and Bailey, 1973).

A study by Lipman-Blumen (1972) points out the importance of the female's subjective definition of appropriate feminine behaviors as a determinant of aspiration. The study revealed that aspirations of women with traditional sex-role ideologies differ consistently from those of women with more modern or contemporary sex-role ideologies.

Allgeier (1975) reports the results of a study in which she compared forty college students in a 2 (sex-typed vs. androgynous) X 2 (male or female) design involving demographic data and future plans. She found that androgynous females as contrasted with sex-typed females: (1) moved frequently during childhood, (2) were raised in larger communities, (3) had fathers and mothers of higher occupational status, (4) held higher educational aspirations, (5) desired fewer children, and (6) placed more importance on competence in work. Of interest here is that male responses were not generally related to the sex-typing variable although they were consistently for females.

## LOCUS OF CONTROL

The propensity to perceive reinforcements as caused by one's own behavior (internal control) rather than perceiving them as caused by something or someone else in the environment (external control), might logically be considered a necessary although not sufficient condition for the occurence of achievement behavior (Crandall and Battle, 1970). However, the various investigations focusing on the relationship between locus of control and various aspects of achievement behavior in females have reported findings that are less consistent than those reported by studies with males. A study by Crandall, et.al., reports that females' internal control scores were not related to achievement behavior in a free play situation or to achievement or intelligence test scores. Crandall and Battle (1970) report no positive correlations for adolescent and adult females between internal responsibility in childhood and achievement effort, while positive correlations for males were reported.

In a study evaluating locus of control, interpersonal trust and the motive to avoid success, Thurber and Friedli (1976) report that greater levels of externality were associated with increased fear of success. However, they found higher levels of M-s among internal subjects with low interpersonal trust. This finding is consistent with the notion that external beliefs provide a defense against success-striving anxieties. This suggests that externally oriented, low interpersonal-trust subjects are free to reveal success-striving anxiety and therefore engage in achievement behavior without fear of the consequences. On the other hand, internally oriented, high interpersonal trust women may deny and repress the success-striving anxieties and thereby disclose less M-s imagery,

and yet continue to be confronted by M-s as a psychological barrier to achievement oriented striving.

Minnigerode (1976) reported that profeminist (non-sex-role-stereotyped) females were more internally oriented and scored higher on masculinity than nonfeminist (sex-role-stereotyped) females. Further, sex-role-stereotyped subjects, both male and female, were more externally oriented than those who were non-sex-role-stereotyped. Minnigerode points out the need for additional research to clarify how the relationship between locus of control and attitudes toward non-traditional sex-role orientations of women differ between the sexes. His results indicate that persons oriented to more conventional sex-role ideologies hold greater expectancy of external, rather than internal, locus of control over reinforcement.

Sanger and Alker (1972) report an investigation in which feminists were compared with non-feminists on internal vs. external control. Their findings point out that locus of control may not be a single unitary personality variable, especially for females. In addition to a measure of personal control, the investigators also obtained a measure of the subject's beliefs about the control of rewards in society (Protestant Ethics Ideology). Although feminists were found to be more internal than the control subjects in their sense of personal control, they were found to be more external than the control subjects in their beliefs about the control of rewards in society; externality in PEI increased with involvement in the feminist movement.

Weiner (1974) criticizes the Rotter (1966) social learning theory formulation of the locus of control construct, and proposes an alternative

model derived from attribution theory. He suggests that perceptions regarding the causes of reinforcement mediate between the stimulus events and the subsequent behavior. This hypothesis was first tested by Rotter, et.al.; however, Weiner argues that rather than stating one causal dimension labeled locus of control, that there are at least two causal elements: (1) causal stability which influences expectancy of success, and (2) locus of control which influences the affective responses to achievement or failure. From this perspective,

> attributions of failure to a hard task result in decrements in expectancy of success, but produce little negative affect. Attributions of failure to low ability also produces decrements in expectancy of success, but result in great negative effect (Weiner, 1974: 113).

Weiner concludes that locus of control influences affective responses rather than goal expectancies.

Additional work is needed in the development of the concept of locus of control, particularly as it relates to achievement orientation in females. Future studies in this area are needed in which sex role stereotypes are considered as an additional factor affecting locus of control correlations in females. Maccoby (1974) suggests that control of destiny may be a part of the cultural stereotype of maleness. In an investigation of stereotypes in elementary textbooks, Jacklin and Mischel (1973) found that when "good" things happened to male characters, this outcome was presented as resulting from his own actions; while when "good" things happened to females, they were attributed to either the action of others, or explained as growing out of the situation.

# SECTION III

## Antecedents

## of

## Female Achievement Orientation

## CHILD-REARING PRACTICES

A great deal of attention has been devoted to identifying child-rearing practices that seem to be associated with achievement orientation in the child. Emphasized in the literature as important for the development of achievement orientation are the following: independence and mastery, permissiveness rather than restrictiveness, and moderate amounts of warmth and rejection (Stein and Bailey, 1973).

Mussen, et. al. (1974) describe preschool children who are highly motivated to achieve in intellectual areas as relatively independent and self-reliant. Mussen, et. al. cite a study by Crandall in which preschool subjects who spent their time on intellectual achievement pursuits, e. g. painting, modeling clay, reading books, usually exhibited less dependency toward adults and less frequently sought the help and emotional support of their peers who were not interested in these achievement area pursuits.

Crandall indicates that the mothers of high achievement oriented children encourage and reward their children's attempts at achievement from infancy onward and tend to ignore unrealistic requests for help. These children who are spontaneously praised and rewarded for achievement efforts, also displayed especially strong and frequent achievement efforts outside the home (Mussen, et. al, 1974).

Because traditional child rearing practices that correlate highly with the development of achievement orientation may be somewhat antagonistic to traditional femininity, it is suggested that girls may have less opportunity than males to be exposed to the kinds of socialization

experiences that lead to high achievement. Maccoby (1974) cites evidence that parents do encourage their children to develop sex-typed interests; even more strongly, they discourage their children from engaging in activities they consider appropriate for the opposite sex.

Somewhat contrary to the above position is the conclusion reached by Maccoby (1974: 338-339) that "a survey of the research on socialization of the two sexes reveals surprisingly little differentiation in parent behavior according to the sex of the child."

Rosen and Aneshensel (1976) are critical of research that focuses on sex differences primarily in terms of isolated personality traits such as field dependences or achievement motivation, or as behavioral patterns (e. g. aggressiveness and competitiveness). They believe that sex differentiation results from socialization practices that are linked to the goals of parents (and other socialization agents). They present a sociopsychological hypothesis involving cognitive, perceptual and behavioral elements which develop as females are socialized into the appropriate sex role called the Chameleon Syndrome: "an essentially accomodative response to an environment perceived as hostile to inappropriate sex role behavior" (Rosen and Aneshensel, 1976: 605). Their findings hold that girls whose childrearing experiences are essentially traditional tend toward higher Chameleon Syndrome scores (Chameleon Syndrome Index, female form). Additionally higher Chameleon Syndrome scores correlate with more traditional female goals (the desire to marry early and have children).

Those several theories that present achievement orientations as

both the result of child rearing practices and as relatively stable dimensions of personality also concede significant social class differences, both in child rearing patterns and in subsequent achievement orientations (Mussen, et. al., 1974).

From this myriad of confusing and sometimes contradictory ideas and notions, a tentative conclusion (empirically unsupported) seems to be: differences in male and female achievement orientations are not so much a reflection of the different abilities, motivations, and personality predispositions of males and females (presumably resulting from sex differentiated patterns of child rearing and socialization), as they are a reflection of the pressures executed on males and females to manifest their interests in different areas of endeavor. These pressures come from both family and non-family contexts.

## ROLE MODELS

O'Leary (1974) suggests that in order for achievement to occur, the actor needs a role model to emulate. Kemper (1968), utilizing the reference groups concept to explain achievement, refers to the function of the role model as a comparison group (individual) who demonstrates for the individual how something is to be done in a technical sense. Consistent with this reasoning would be the expectation that female children who have significant (female) role models from whom they can learn achievement behaviors and attitudes, should be more achievement oriented than those females with non-achievement oriented role models.

A number of studies have investigated the influence of the mother's role and role satisfaction on the work orientation (traditional or non-traditional) of their daughters (Astin, 1968; Tangri, 1972). A study by Douvan and Adelson (1966) found that females with high traditional feminine interests and low achievement aspirations named their mothers as role models, while those with high achievement aspirations more often named non-family members as role models. Baruch (1967) found that daughters of working mothers who had successfully combined family with career activities and who expressed satisfaction with their life-style had daughters who were similarly oriented. Several studies have shown that maternal employment in middle class families is associated with high educational and occupational aspirations (Banducci, 1967; Nye and Hoffman, 1963).

An extensive review of the literature on the effects of maternal employment on the child by Hoffman (1974) confirmed the hypothesis that the working mother does provide a different role model than does her non-working counterpart. Because the working mother performs a very different

McClendon (1976), in a study of the occupational status attainment process of both men and women reports that the occupational status of both sexes are quite similar although males are more likely to be in higher status and lower status positions than females. The process of status attainment is essentially the same for both males and females. He reports that education is the predictor of status for both males and females and that family background characteristics show only a small direct affect on status. He found no evidence that the education of same-sex parent has more influence on educational attainment than that of opposite-sex parent.

Touhey (1974) conducted an investigation in which masculinity-femininity, presence of same or opposite sex sibling, and accuracy of cross-sex role taking were studied. Although statistical significance was not achieved, he found that female subjects with a male sibling obtain lower femininity scores and were more accurate on cross-sex role taking. Touhey's findings are interpreted according to interpersonal congruency theory to mean that subjects with more problematic sex-role identifications (i.e. greater cross-sex role taking accuracy for feminine scoring males and masculine scoring females) might use

> stabilizing mechanisms such as selective interaction, response evocation and selective valuation in order to attain stable and rewarding social interactions. The selection of friends, mates, and other reference persons, for example, might be biased toward others who explicitly validate the subject's departure from the stereotypic sex role preferences (Touhey, 1974: 42).

A study by Lipman-Blumen (1972) found no relationship between demographic characteristics of family (parent's income, education or

occupation) and daughter's sex-role definition. Also, whether or not a mother worked had no perceptible impact on daughter's sex-role ideology. An important prediction of a woman's female-role ideology, however, was her perception of her mother's over-all satisfaction with life. This finding illustrates the increase in predictive power that results from treating the actor as perceiver and considering the subjective definition of the situation as data.

# SECTION IV

## Recent Developments

## in

## Female Achievement Orientation Research

## THE MOTIVE TO AVOID SUCCESS

Horner conceptualized the motive to avoid success in 1968 (Horner, 1972) in an attempt to explain the major unresolved sex differences detected in previous research on achievement motivation. The motive to avoid success was first conceptualized within the framework of an expectancy-value theory of motivation, as a latent, stable personality disposition, acquired early in life in conjunction with standards of sex-role identity. According to Horner (1972), females have dual and conflicting motives: to succeed, and to avoid success. Because of the inconsistency of achievement with femininity, the female expects negative consequences from achievement, which results in anxiety; the anxiety then functions to inhibit achievement.

In order to assess the presence or absence of fear of success, Horner, in her 1968 study of university freshmen and sophomores, employed a projective technique in which stories were written to verbal cues. For women, the verbal cue was: After her first term finals, Anne finds herself at the top of her medical school class. The corresponding cue for men was: After his first term finals, John finds himself at the top of his medical school class. Stories were scored only for presence or absence of fear of success imagery. Horner found that sixty-five percent (65%) of the female sample responded to the Anne cue with fear of success imagery, while only ten percent (10%) of the males wrote fear of success stories to the John cue. Similarly high percentages of fear of success have been found in samples of seventh grade girls (47%), and in a sample of administrative secretaries in a large corporation (86.6%).

The motive to avoid success significantly affects performance, but only in situations in which it is aroused (Horner, 1972). In her original study, Horner investigated the effects of the motive to avoid success on a number of achievement tasks, in a mixed-sex competitive situation, and in a subsequent non-competitive, but achievement oriented situation. Females high in the motive to avoid success performed at a significantly lower level in the mixed-sex competitive condition than they did in the non-competitive condition; whereas most of the women low in the motive to avoid success did better in the competitive condition, as did most of the males (Horner, 1972).

The effects of the motive to avoid success on level of aspiration were investigated in an unpublished study by Schween (Horner, 1972). According to the Schween data, which is based on a small pilot study of women in an Eastern Ivyleague College, subjects high in fear of success manifest this anxiety in a variety of ways, such as preferring not to divulge the fact that they are receiving "A" grades to male peers, and changing their aspirations during college to less ambitious and more appropriately feminine careers (e.g. from law school to teaching). Girls with low fear of success were more likely to report "A" grades to male friends, and to develop less traditional career aspirations during college.

In a study designed to replicate and extend Horner and Schween's earlier findings, Gearty and Milner (1974) observed that the motive to avoid success was demonstrated by three fourths of their subjects (sixty female undergraduate students, thirty in "masculine" major fields and thirty in "feminine" major fields). This finding seems to confirm Horner's

findings of 65% and 86.6% in two earlier observations. Gearty and Milner found no differences in M-s responses in subjects from either masculine or feminine academic fields. They also found no significant differences in M-s between subjects examined by male and subjects examined by female examiners. This finding seems to refute Schween's finding that male peer attitudes influence M-s in females and leaves a yet unanswered question.

In an effort to broaden the scope of the motive to avoid success hypothesis, Brown, et.al. (1974) replicated the Horner study with subjects from a high school (ages 15 to 18) and a college (ages 18 to 39). The most interesting finding that emerged was that high school males, high school females, and college males responded quite similarly; all of these subjects expressed more M-s imagery for the Anne cue than the John cue. This pattern, however, did not obtain for the college female sample where only seventeen percent (17%) expressed M-s imagery for the Anne cue compared to sixty-five percent (65%) in the original study. Further, while only about ten percent (10%) of the male subjects wrote M-s responses in the Horner study, twenty-two percent (22%) expressed M-s imagery in the present study. Brown, et.al. interpret their findings to mean that imagery expressed to open ended, projective technique type cues, reflect much more than simply fear of success (e.g. achievement themes and fear of failure).

Similar problems of replication were reported by Stake (1976) and Peplau (1976). Stake studied the effect of sex, task appropriateness, and subjective probability of outstanding performance on discrepancy score (goal minus past performance). She obtained significant main effects

for sex and subjective probability with males and low subjective probability subjects producing larger discrepancy scores. Further, she obtained a significant interaction between sex and subjective probability where females produced smaller discrepancy scores than males in the low probability condition. Her finds were contradictory to the M-s hypothesis. Peplau, in a study of ninety-one college-aged dating couples that examined the effect of sex role attitudes and Horner's M-s imagery measure on female achievement, found that her data did not support Horner's prediction that dating partners' attitudes affect the females fear of success. Additionally, M-s did not correlate with the female's own sex-role attitudes, career goals, SAT scores, or ability. However, traditional sex-role attitudes did correlate with lower career aspirations, lower SAT verbal scores, and lower ability. Peplau concludes that sex-role attitudes may have more impact on female achievement orientation than the motive to avoid success.

Levine and Crumrine (1975) conducted a replication and expansion study of Horner's 1968 work on seven hundred male and female college students. They found no significant differences between men and women involving M-s imagery. They point out certain methodological problems in Horner's early work and conclude that evidence does not now exist to support the hypothesized motive to avoid success as a phenomenon.

Male threat from female competence (MTFC), (it has been postulated that males vary in a psychological predisposition to experience female competence as threatening) was studied by Pleck (1976). He raises two important questions:

> Could it be that female success is feared not only by women themselves but by men as well?
> Do men's fears about women's achievement influence men's behavior toward women? (Pleck, 1976: 608).

Pleck's investigation provided modest support for the MTFC hypothesis that male threat from female competence is a determinant of male behavior in task interaction with female intimates. In light of this tentative finding, facilitating female achievement may require taking into account the personality and socialization of men as well as of women.

It seems that the literature previously cited does not provide conclusive evidence of the operation of a motive to avoid success; it is equally reasonable to assume that values and cognitions, as well as sex-role ideologies, may explain the findings. Thus, projective procedures are tapping a woman's conception of femininity; those with high fear of success are simply projecting their more traditional conceptions, while those with low fear of success are projecting more contemporary sex-role definitions. No studies have been reported in the literature which control for subjective definition of appropriate sex-role behaviors. Neither do the studies which report correlations between lowered performance of females and high M-s in mixed-sex competitive situations prove the existence of a motive. It could be that females (especially those with traditional sex-role ideologies) temper their competitive behaviors in mixed-sex situations, not because of the arousal of a motive, but as the result of role-taking and the subsequent adjustment of behavior to situational cues. Perhaps females (with traditional sex-role ideologies) have other priorities such as cooperation in mixed-sex situations. A similar

explanation was proposed to explain behavior of females in forming coalitions; unlike males, females do not respond predictably to coalition situations, but "import" norms into the situation, which determine their behavior (Collins and Raven, 1968-1969).

The attitude of male peers toward the appropriate role of women appears to be a significant factor in arousing the motive to avoid success. In the Schween study (Horner, 1972), girls who showed evidence of anxiety about success and who had altered their career plans toward more traditionally feminine ones, were either not dating at all, or were dating men who did not approve of career women. Whereas, women who scored low on fear of success and who were striving for innovative careers, were either engaged to or were seriously dating men who supported their strivings. It seems that an explanation consistent with symbollic interaction theory is appropriate here: females not dating, especially those to whom the traditional male-female relationship is important, take the role of the generalized (male) other, and adjust their behavior accordingly (lowering aspiration, etc.); whereas those striving for innovative careers have a specific, non-traditional (male) other to validate their strivings.

In a study by Hawley (1971), women selecting non-traditionally feminine careers also reported that the significant men in their lives had a model of femininity not unlike the ones they themselves adhered to. It is important now to determine if having a boy-friend with a contemporary female role ideology could possibly precede the females innovative career strivings. The Schween findings have serious limitations imposed by the small sample size, however, they do suggest some areas for future investigation.

Although Horner concludes from her research that fear of success exists as a motive, the design of her research cannot rule out the possibility that the projective technique may be tapping societal conceptions or stereotypes about male and female sex-roles regarding appropriate achievements and occupational orientations of each. To investigate this possibility, Feather and Raphelson (1974) conducted a study on Australian and American university students, in which they extended Horner's original procedure by requiring both male and female subjects to respond to both the Anne and John cues. Protocols were scored for presence or absence of success. Findings suggest that the projective procedures may have tapped sex-role stereotypes since both males and females saw Anne's success as more likely to have negative consequences than John's success. Results were not as clear-cut for the American sample. While males in the American sample also saw Anne's success as more likely to have negative consequences than John's success, there were very few differences in the proportion of fear of success stories written by females to the Anne and John cues, suggesting that females are changing their conceptions of appropriate achievements for women. This finding, however, is in conflict with Horner's (1972) research, which showed no significant reduction in fear of success imagery. Perhaps this discrepancy in findings could be eliminated by controlling for demographic characteristics or subject's definition of appropriate sex-role behaviors.

An interesting trend noted by Horner (1972) and continued in the Feather and Raphelson work (1974) highly suggests that fear of success exists as a cognitive reflection of sex-role values and stereotypes, and

not as a motive. Feather and Raphelson report that further controlled laboratory studies relating the presence or absence of fear of success imagery to performance, choice, and persistence in like-sex and mixed-sex competitive situations are required to determine whether stereotype or motive is operating. A more cautious conclusion at this point, however, seems to be that even the above described research cannot produce this information, since we are not sure what projective techniques are measuring (for example: motives, stereotypes, values, situational cues, or any combination of these factors). Klinger (1966) suggested that N-achievement scores may reflect sensitivity by youth to achievement cues in family and non-family contexts, where achievement is emphasized, rather than the presence of an acquired motive state. This line of reasoning seems appropriate here also: motive to avoid success scores may reflect sensitivity by females to sex-role cues, rather than the presence of an acquired motivational state.

## VALUE ORIENTATIONS

Despite Rosen's contention that achievement values are important factors in producing achievement behavior (Rosen, 1956), the literature indicates that there has been little interest in the phenomenon of value orientations (Lueptow, 1975). It seems, however, that value orientations may be an especially valuable tool in the explanation of female achievement orientations. This seems particularly important in that achievement value orientations constitute dominant values of the American society that are typical of men's and not of women's roles.[1] Therefore, it follows that socialization for the traditional female role should lead to value orientations which are antagonistic toward achievement.

Contrary to expectations, however, recent investigations have not found lower levels of achievement value orientations among girls. In a study of high school seniors, Lueptow (1975) reports females scoring higher than males in achievement value orientations. In an attempt to explain this unexpected finding, Lueptow suggests the possibility that these findings represent attributional rather than self-relevant responses; the use of the masculine pronoun in the wording of the Strodbeck-Rosen value inventory may affect the female's response. However, a later administration of two forms of the achievement value inventory (one in the original masculine gender, one in neuter), revealed the same results; female students again exhibited higher achievement values than males, suggesting that females were responding

[1]This idea is developed by Florence Kluckhohn in "American Women and American Values," in B.C. Rosen, et.al. (eds.), Achievement in American Society, Cambridge, 1969.

in a self-relevant, rather than attributional manner.

Achievement values have been found to be associated with aspirations. Females most strongly oriented toward marriage and family had lower achievement values than those not so oriented. Both males and females who defined having a job as a highly important life goal had higher achievement value orientations.

According to these findings, patterns for females (in value orientation) do not differ significantly from those of males. Perhaps this is due to the control of an important cognitive factor, the degree to which an individual defines achievement as important. Controlling for career salience (Lueptow, 1968) may be an extremely important factor in understanding achievement orientation in females.

## ABILITY

A few recent investigations have reported that intelligence (vis-a-vis I.Q.) is highly correlated with various aspects of the achievement syndrome. For example, Lueptow (1975) reports a strong correlation between achievement value orientations and levels of intelligence. Although this relationship was not explained, Lueptow refers to an explanation of a similar finding (Rehberg, 1970). Perhaps intelligence is a consequence of achievement value orientations in that these values would affect the child's orientation regarding the educational process, and consequently determine the kinds of experiences she would have in shcool.

Based on a study of seventh-grade Norwegian girls, Gjesme (1973) concludes that ability may be indirectly related to achievement motivation in that the individual's knowledge of her own relative ability will determine her subjective probability of success and thus determine how likely she is to have her achievement-related motives aroused.

Some evidence exists that indicates that achievement oriented males and females do not differ with regard to ability. The Touhey and Villemez (1975) study of achievement motivation and risk-taking preferences reported that male and female subjects did not differ significantly on achievement motivation or ability. Their measure of ability was a self rating, and therefore seems to confirm the Gjesme finding that knowledge of one's ability may subjectively determine probable success and act to arouse achievement related motives.

Based on the Maccoby (1966) hypothesis that high intelligence correlates with cross-sex typing and the Horner (Bardwick, 1972) conclusion that females in achievement situations (e.g. school) may demonstrate the

motive to avoid success because of anticipated negative consequences associated with success, Doherty and Culver (1976) conducted a study of high school girls' achievement that controlled for I.Q. Their study found a significant relationship between a non-traditional, personal-fulfillment-orientation and ability. With the effects of I.Q. controlled, a significant correlation between highly traditional orientations and higher class rank, and, conversely, more highly non-traditional orientation and lower class rank were obtained. They conclude that non-traditional females may not have utilized their higher abilities and greater potentials, at least in the academic setting.

A study exploring the relationship between masculinity and creativity in college women (Suter and Domino, 1975) raises a powerful question that has obvious implications for future research in the area of ability and its relationship to female achievement orientation. They suggest that an important topic that needs further study is the difference in sex role between "potentially" creative and "productively" creative women.

> That is, the subjects in the present study, as in most studies, are potentially creative in that their creativity is defined by test performance or past biographical indicators rather than by current achievements and renown as in the case of MacKinnon's . . . . architects, for example. It might be that differences between potentially and productively creative women would be more pronounced than those found in the present study. Such an investigation might also give some indication of why many women fail to actualize their creative potential (Suter and Domino, 1975: 419).

The question of whether or not achievement oriented males and females differ on ability needs further investigation utilizing both psychometric evaluations (I.Q. and aptitude measures) and the more subjective self-

rating procedures. Additionally, future investigations into any aspect of achievement in females should control for ability. Finally, studies that differentiate between "potentially" capable and "productively" capable women may prove to be a particularly fertile area of investigation in the area of female achievement orientation.

# SECTION V

## Future Directions

## for

## Female Achievement Orientation Research

## CONCLUSION

A survey of the recent literature on achievement orientation in females reveals that women's patterns of striving and achievement behavior differ significantly from those of males. However, the *a priori* conclusion, frequently assumed in psychological research and theory that these differences are the result of lowered achievement motivation in females does not appear justified. Rather, the conclusion indicated at this time is that the assumed lowered achievement orientation and behavior of females is actually the result of cultural sex-role standards which affect women in a variety of ways; especially by channeling female achievement behavior into sex-appropriate areas of endeavor and by making achievement (especially in competitive situations) less important than other behaviors such as cooperation.

The classic work on achievement motivation was done by McClelland in 1953. He conceptualized achievement motivation as a relatively stable personality disposition to strive for success in any situation where standards of success apply. Achievement motivation was measured projectively through a scoring of achievement themes told in response to T.A.T. pictures. This conceptualization has received fairly good support for males, but not for females. The projective measures of achievement motivation are not correlated with achievement effort or with academic and intellectual performance for females.

Although there appears to be fluidity of sex-role definitions in contemporary society, as contrasted with previous decades, the recent

research confirms the existence of pervasive and persistent sex-role stereotypes. Various studies have confirmed that very young children develop sex-role ideologies with well-defined notions of appropriate behavior for men and women.

Research has also shown that masculine characteristics are socially more desirable than feminine characteristics. This inevitably results in women holding negative self images and diminished ego strength which may explain, at the descriptive level, the lack of female achievement. The problem here is that there are inherent weaknesses in the several studies leading to the above conclusions. The majority of measures on which the results are based represent singular, polar dimensions of masculinity-femininity. Further, the extent to which sex-role stereotypes influence the self-conception of women has not been adequately answered in the existing research.

The literature quite consistently confirms the notion that sex-role standards influence a female's achievement behavior. But it is also clear that not all women subscribe to the traditional cultural definitions of femininity. Therefore it becomes necessary to consider the individual female's subjective definition of appropriate sex-role behavior. The very few studies that have controlled for subjective definitions of sex-role have shown this to be a significant factor in predicting behavior. For example, Lipman-Blumen pointed out that women's aspirations were significantly related to their sex-role ideologies.

Additional research that considers sex-role standards at the subjective level are definitely needed. As a matter of fact, subjective definitions of sex-role might also prove valuable in predicting achievement strivings

in males, as any extreme sex-typing, either masculine or feminine, may be antagonistic to achievement. Subjective definitions of sex-role should be investigated both as independent and dependent variables to determine their effects on achievement strivings as well as locating the kinds of social structures and socialization experiences that lead to these subjective definitions.

Also of importance is additional research that concerns itself with identifying situational variables which influence achievement behavior. This may well, in fact, be the key to explaining why males and females don't achieve equally. As Maccoby points out, the greater achievements made by men may be accounted for by the fact that situational stimulators or sustainers of achievement exist throughout a man's life, whereas, for the most part, they are unavailable to women. Most creative geniouses, she states, have emerged in the context of earning a daily living.

Although it cannot be denied that socialization experiences in childhood are related to achievement performances in adulthood, the recent literature suggests that these experiences do not differ systematically for girls and boys. This, therefore, does not seem to be a fruitful area for further research into the antecednets of achievement orientation in females. More important are the female's cognitions about achievement and the kinds of reinforcements (positive or negative) she is likely to receive as a result of achieving. Research efforts, therefore, should turn to attempts to identify the structural contexts (family and non-family) in which a girl is likely to learn (and sustain) a definition of the role of the female which is not antagonistic to achievement, as well as the

identification of social contexts which provide continued cueing and rewarding of achievement behavior.

A topic of particular concern in the area of female achievement orientation is the hypothesized motive to avoid success. This has become a problem for at least three reasons: (1) conceptually the M-s is presented as a relatively stable personality disposition acquired early in life with standards of sex-role identity placing it with the traditional mechanistic psychological models which exclude the cognitive and subjective factors proven more important in female achievement research; (2) methodologically the M-s is studied projectively with scoring for fear of success imagery although there is no clear evidence that projective techniques sample motives to the exclusion of stereotypes, values, or situational cues; and (3) the rapidity with which the M-s hypothesis has found its way into the literature although there is no clear evidence that such a phenomenon has been empirically supported and theoretically accepted.

The developing area of attribution theory seems to be an especially promising area of inquiry for research on achievement. Attribution theory states that cognitive variables are important in understanding any kind of human behavior including achievement. In explaining achievement behavior, the theory states that people have expectations regarding their likelihood of success which influence their choice of activities and levels of performance. Important in achievement situations are the causal attributions which are assigned to success and failure; that is, whether success and failure are seen as due to one's own abilities and effort or to external events such as luck or the nature of the task. Some empirical evidence

suggests that males and females differ in assigning causal attribution to success and failure and thus differ in their expectancies in future performances. Women are more likely than men to attribute their successes to luck and their failures to lack of ability, an attribution pattern which negatively affects future performance.

Several studies have found that attributional styles can be experimentally changed resulting in corresponding changes in achievement striving. This would appear to be a fruitful area for continued investigation, particularly focusing on whether or not the changes remain beyond the experimental setting, and with efforts toward identifying situational and social structural sustainers of attributional styles. Such research will be of interest, not only to the social scientists, but to persons involved in conscious efforts to improve the status of women in our society.

It is increasingly evident, in the field of social psychology, that the prediction of patterned behavior is highly dependent upon accounting for cognitive factors and the situation in which the actor finds herself or himself, and not in personality variables. This approach suggests a theory of human behavior, not separate theories for men and women. Future research in achievement orientation should be consistent with developments in mainstream social psychology and, consequently, differences in achievement behaviors between men and women may ultimately be accounted for by social structural determinants in addition to cognitive elements and situational variables.

It now seems apparent that investigators must refrain from attempting to apply to females, theories developed to explain the achievement behavior

of males. At the same time, in an effort to explain female achievement orientation, investigators must not develop theory and empirical methods which apply specifically to women, but insure that these generalize and contribute to a general social psychological theory of human behavior.

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